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Critical Notes Upon the Epic of Paradise.—By S. LANGDON,
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Earlier pages of this volume of the JOURNAL contain articles by Professors Prince and Jastrow upon my recent volume, 'The Sumerian Epic of Paradise, the Flood and the Fall of Man,' in which they put forward many criticisms that deserve a detailed examination. A discussion of a document of such fundamental importance, to be of definite value, must be based upon a correct text and I shall first of all give the corrections to the *editio princeps* which I have been able to make. A French edition containing my final text and translation should be issued from the press of E. Leroux, Paris, very soon. But the unfortunate state of affairs in Europe may delay this volume many months. In the meantime hasty conclusions and other misunderstandings based upon the long silence of the author are certain to continue until that volume appears. This article is, therefore, issued as the forerunner of my completed studies.

First of all let us establish our text, which I have now done from the tablet itself. In the first edition the author was forced to depend for more than three-fourths of the tablet upon photographs and this was a labour which tried the eyes in a way which he will not soon forget. Signs which appeared faintly on the photograph are now perfectly legible on the tablet. The signs appear 'warmer' on the clay tablet and their identifications are soon the result of mental suggestions in the mind of the Assyriologist. With the tablet itself in my hand most of the epigraphical difficulties vanished and with them many of the false interpretations.

Col. I 17; the last sign is *zu* not *ba*. *Zu* 'to know' has here the obscene sense of 'cohabit,' and the line is clear.

Col. I 18; the first sign is *DUN*, *ŠUL*, which denotes an animal of the bovine class and is rendered *zebu* by the author for reasons given in his *Archives of Drehem*. The line should be rendered, 'The *zebu* as it fed on grain (the dog) did not . . .' The last sign of this line is not *ba* and probably not *zu*.

Col. I 19; *nu-mu-un su dīm ūr-ra* . . . *su* is here the root *su-g* = 'increase,' see *Sum. Gr.* 241 *su* 2) and 243 *sug* 10).

Also *Babyloniaca* VI 46. The word occurs in *nu-mu-un-sú-ga-mu*, 'My grown-up offspring,' a title of Tammuz, CT. 15, 19, ll. 4, 6, 8, 10, 12. Note also ŠE (*su-ug*) = *rabû*, 'to grow up,' *tarbâtu* 'education,' and the form *sud* = in *Sum. Gr.* 242, *sud* 4).

The line should be rendered, 'The growing offspring, the fondling of the lap . . .'

Col. I 28; the third sign has no gunification; what I took for gunification are only scratches after the sign. The sign is *zag* and recurs in I 30 and Rev. III 51, where it has the same form; also Rev. III 40 contains this sign. *Zag* = *pirištu*, *nîmeku*, 'wisdom,' see II R. 54 G 66 and VR. 29 No. 2. 23. A derived sense is *zag* = *rêmu* 'mercy,' and that is most likely the sense here. The line should be rendered, 'A prince his mercy withheld not.'

Col. I 30; *zag eri-ka i-lu¹ nu-mu-ni-bi*, 'In the sanctuary of the city "alas!" they said not.' The line refers to the mournful lamentations so characteristic of Sumerian religion.

Col. I 32; at the end, *zu*.

Col. II 10; read *sî* for *e*. The line is obscure.

Col. II 16; read *a-šag a-gar ab-sim-a-ni še-mu-na . . .*, 'The fields and meadows their vegetation (yielded in abundance)'.

Col. II 31; the sign after *ge* is *za*, which simplifies matters and avoids the difficulty which I had laboured with in explaining the statement that Enki is the father of Damgalnunna. The line means, 'Enki at the side of (*za* < *zag*) Damgalnunna uttered his command.'

Col. III 4; at the end read *nu-mu-un su-ub-bi*, 'the sinless seed.' Same correction in III 5, 7, 8, 24, 25.

Col. III 12; read *gibîl* (or *izi*)-*im-ma-an-su-ub*. The passage is obscure. Same correction, line 32.

Col. III 27; at end read *su-ub-bu-ma-ni*. Also line 28.

These two lines should be rendered:

'This pious son of man whom he has declared pure,
O Ninkurra, this pious son of man whom he has declared pure.'

III 42; read *gù-ga-ra-ab-dûg*.

¹ So read, not *KU*.

REVERSE

I have been able to read more signs in the damaged spot at the beginning, but they are of no consequence to the interpretation.

I 36; at the end read *si-si* for *mal-e*. This fortunately proves my rendering to be correct. *si-si* is one of the ordinary roots (reduplicated) for 'to fix, stand.' See *Sum. Gr.* 238 *si* 9).

I 39; read *sukkal-na*, 'To his messenger he said, "Open the door, open the door."' Enki's attendant is here represented as opening the door for Tagtug.

I 41; the sign after *HUL* is *RIM* and *HUL-RIM* is probably the Sumerian word for a plant, as in *Cuneiform Texts of the British Museum*, 23. 39. 1; *Maḫlu* V 13. 19 etc.

I 42; the first sign is certainly not *ŠAM* as my critics read. It has not the least resemblance to this sign in the epigraphy of the period. The most likely identification is *il* (Thureau-Dangin, REC. 314). The line remains obscure.

I 48; read *si-gi* for *zi*. The rendering is correct.

II 17. After *LI* the signs have now entirely disappeared. *li-bé-sá* is perhaps correct but the photograph remains the only evidence.

II 20; read *ú-RIM* not *ú-giš*. The text has the ideogram for the plant *supalu*, *suplu*, which has not been explained.¹

III 34; read [*lugal-mu*] (*ú*)-*am-ga-ru mu-na-ab-bi*. 'My king as to the cassia commanded, "He shall pluck, he shall eat."'

The sign *bi* is doubtful and faint but *bi* is demanded by the sense, for the forbidden plant is first mentioned in line 36. I misread the last sign of line 36 and hence erroneously identified the cassia with the plant which caused the Fall of Man. In fact the text mentions eight plants which man may eat from in the garden and curiously enough there are also eight divine genii sent to aid mankind after his loss of Paradise.

Line 36 of Rev. II should be read; *d-en-ki ú nam-bi bé-in-tar šab-ba ba-ni-in-sig*, 'Enki the plant, whose fate he had determined, therein placed.' The last sign is *sig* = *šakānu*,

¹ *supalu* is a synonym of *lardu* and *arantu*, 'nard,' an aromatic and medicinal plant, Meissner, *Supplement*, pl. 8, 1. 24. The word appears as *suplu* in CT. 11. 45 a. 24, and is probably connected with Syriac *šebbelethā* 'nard.'

Meissner, SAI. 29, 59 and *Sum. Gr.* 238 sig 9). The same root appears as *sîg* = *banû*, IV R. 5 a 3; SBP. 300, 18; II R. 23 k 9; Ebeling, KTA. No. 4, 2 and Rev. 20. Also Clay, *Miscel.* 4 II 7 *si-si* = *banû*, 'build.'

Thus it is Enki who brought about the loss of eternal life by placing a tree in the garden. The text does not mention his having forbidden it and that is precisely the point of the theologians who attributed the Fall of Man to the jealousy of Enki as in the Adapa myth. Tagtug was not to know that loss of eternal life would follow upon his eating from this unnamed tree. But Ninharsag foresees the result at once and hence pronounces the curse. The text also does not state that Tagtug ate of this plant but that is the obvious inference. Unfortunately texts of this kind are so abbreviated in detail that the succession of ideas baffles the decipherer for many hours. This account of the Fall of Man, through his innocently eating from the fated and unnamed plant placed in the garden by the jealous water god, is purposely abbreviated by the schoolmen; that indescribable disaster of humanity formed a subject whose details were apparently too painful to be dwelt upon. In any case the curse by the mother goddess follows:

'The face of life until² he dies not shall he see.'

Man loses here the longevity and perfect health of the pre-diluvian age. That is the plain statement of our text, and it is apparently the result of eating from a plant.³ My previous error

² Professor Prince asserts that *en-na* means 'at the time when.' The only known meaning of *en-na*, *en-e*, *en*, is 'until,' see *Sum. Gr.* § 236. It never has the meaning assigned to it in Prince's translation. The word for 'when' is *uð*, *uð-da*, see *Sum. Gr.* § 221. The same sense always adheres to *en-na* even when it is employed as a preposition. Note *en-še*, 'until when,' Zimmern, *Kultlieder* 179, 1; *en-na iti ab-è-a*, 'Until the month Abea,' unpublished Larsa tablet. Note *ena*, *una* = *šattu*, 'duration,' in *gig-ù-na* = *ina šat mûši*, 'during the night'; *uð-ù-ne* = *ina šat ûmi*, 'during the day'; *Gudea*, Cyl. A. 8. 2. *e-ne-ra* = *ana šatti*, 'until the fulness,' i. e., 'forever,' VR. 62 a 60.

³ The Fall might also be the final penalty for the sin which brought on the Flood, mentioned in Obv. II 27. If we place that construction upon the contents of the passage then the sin of mankind in failing to show the proper respect to the gods brought about not only the end of Paradise by the Flood but also the loss of perfect health and longevity. In view of the fact that the curse of Ninharsag bringing about the Fall follows

lay not in my main inference. The legend of the Fall of Man was obvious from the time when I first gave out my interpretation. The error consisted in failing to see traces of the name of the god Enki at the beginning of line 36 and hence I missed the true *motif* behind the Nippurian version. Here again Enki's jealousy is the theme of the theologians but they treat it almost as a mystic doctrine, too disagreeable to be discussed at length. The legend passes now to the more agreeable task of relating the creation of the eight divine patrons of fallen humanity.

II 40, 42 read *lul-a*, 'with woeful cry.'

II 44. The sign after *mà* may possibly be *a* and not the two strokes for 'two.' Repeated examination fails to decide the matter. *a* makes better sense for there is no previous mention of a female companion of Tagtug. The remainder of the line is correctly copied and the interpretation is correct. Read perhaps *uru-mà-a* 'in my city.' The reading 'two creatures' is, however, more probable.

At the top of Col. III I have deciphered more signs but the interpretation is not advanced.

III 20; read *ma* for *ra*. Also l. 22.

III 25; the signs before *mu* are extremely uncertain.

III 40; read *zag-mu*, 'my intelligence.' Line 41 is now clear. The god who sends wisdom is *En-zag* = *Nebo ša nîmeki*, and line 41 has the variant and longer epithet *En-zág-aga*, 'Lord who exercises intelligence,' a title of Nebo.

III 42; read *tu-ne-en-na-áš gar-ra- [en-na-aš]*. My rendering is correct.

These textual criticisms ensure my original interpretation. The tablet contains a description of Paradise, the ejection of mankind by a Flood, the deliverance of a pious man *Tagtug* who became a gardener and receives instructions as to which plants he shall eat. Enki out of jealousy plans to deprive him of immortality by placing a fated plant in the garden. After the ejection from Paradise and the loss of perpetual good health the gods send eight divine patrons to aid man in his struggle for existence.

upon a list of medicinal plants which he is permitted to eat and one fateful plant of which there is no further description makes the inference wellnigh certain that the Fall is to be attributed to the eating of this plant purposely placed in the garden by the jealous god Enki.

The revised text of Rev. III 40 f. contains a clear reference to the moral degeneration of man. Here the gods send a divine patron Enzagaga to aid the weakened intelligence of mankind. Scheil in his brilliant critique of the passage before the French Academy (*Comptes rendus* for December, 1915) divined a reference to the moral fall of man in this line. This confirms my interpretation of Obv. II 27 and proves that my critics were entirely in error in their attempts to place an unnatural exegesis upon this line. The deity created to protect mankind against his moral and intellectual depravity is a form of Nebo, patron deity of Dilmun.

The text is not an incantation. The scribe himself adds the note *zag-sal*, the standard description of epical poetry. Nor do the contents suggest any magical rites. It is also not a 'ritual tendency' composition. The ritualistic liturgies are marked by refrains and successions of melodies, and these are entirely absent here. The tablet is epical in nature and its contents are not so obscure as to leave any doubt about the major facts. We have here the Sumerian epic of Paradise and the theological explanation of the Fall of Man.

I should like to dispute with my critics at greater length but other work is pressing. Only on one point will I enter a vigorous objection to Prince's interpretation of the opening line. He has misunderstood me and neglected to read my note on page 70 n. 1. *e-ne-ba-am* contains the verb *e-ne* = *šalālu* 'to lie down.' *ba-am* is the postfixed element *ba* to denote a relative phrase, strengthened by the emphatic *am*. I never said that *ba* means 'to lie down, to sleep.' Prince's rendering, which sees in *ba* the verb, is hardly correct. I also call my critic's attention to his statement about *Tag-túg*. The sign here is *túg* not *ku*; *ku* has only one interior stroke not two as in this text. *Tag-tug* or *tag-dúr* are the only probabilities. My critics also adhere to the false reading of the name of the Sumerian survivor of the Flood. The new text published by myself has clearly *Zi-ud-sud-du* and the name which has survived in Lucian shows also that this was the original pronunciation.